

Tanned Human Skin

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THE NOTION of flaying the human body and tanning the hide is an old one. According to Herodotus the Scythians cultivated the art. In Saxon Britain it was customary for certain types of offenders to pay a *hyd-geld* to save their skins, and marauding Danes who committed sacrilege in the churches were flayed and their skins nailed to the church doors.¹ Other legends such as that of Zisca's drum made of his own skin and the thirteenth century Bible in the Bibliothèque Nationale made on parchment from *peau de femme* are not so easy to prove. Similar folklore is the medieval Bavarian belief that anthropodermic girdles were effective aids to childbirth.²

In modern times the growth of interest in the possibility of tanning the human exuviae has risen slowly. The first authentic notice on the subject in recent centuries is the information that William Harvey presented the College of Physicians with a tanned human skin.³ Among the first to put tanned human skin to practical use was Anthony Askew (1722-1773), physician, bibliophile, and classicist, who had a *Traité d'anatomie* bound in the human integument.⁴ Another English physician, John Hunter (1728-1794) had an *Abhandlung über die Hautkrankheiten* put up in a healthy cured human skin.⁵

On the other side of the Channel French physicians were also taking

¹ Albert Way, "Some Notes on the Tradition of Flaying Inflicted in Punishment of Sacrilege; the Skin of the Offender Being Affixed to the Church-Doors," *Archaeological Journal*, V (1848), 189-90; see also Walter George Bell, *More about Unknown London* (London, John Lane, 1921), pp. 168-72.

² Max Höfler, *Volksmedizin und Aberglaube in Oberbayerns Gegenwart und Vergangenheit* (Munich, 1888), 172.

³ Holbrook Jackson, *The Anatomy of Bibliomania* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932), p. 511. Similar specimens are in the Naturwissenschaftliches Museum of the University of Basel and the Lycée of Versailles.

⁴ Albert Cim, *Le livre historique-fabrication-achat-classement-usage-et entrétién* (Paris, E. Flammarion, 1905-8; five volumes), III, 293.

⁵ "Einbände aus Menschenhaut," *Allgemeiner Anzeiger für Buchbindereien*, XLIV (no. 42, Oct. 18, 1929), 1010; "Reliures en peau humaine," *La bibliofilia, raccolta di scritti sull'arte antica in libri, manoscritti, autografi e legature*, IV (1902-3), 333.

some note of the possibilities of human leather. Valmont de Bomare⁶ reports that a celebrated Parisian surgeon, M. Sue,⁷ gave to the Cabinet du Roi a pair of slippers made of human skin. Valmont reports further that this same museum owned a belt of human skin on which the vestiges of a nipple were clearly distinguishable, and another piece consisted of the last two fingers of a right hand, including the nails. Further up the coast in the Low Countries Hermann Boerhaave (1668-1738) had formed a collection of medical curiosities including a pair of lady's high heeled shoes made of leather from the skin of an executed criminal. Again here the nipple was used as an ornament, adorning the front of the instep.⁸

However, no systematic interest was taken by the medical profession in the practical uses of human leather until the nineteenth century. Possibly it resulted from the impetus given to anthropodermic bibliopegy and related arts by the French Revolution. Few histories of the Revolution omit references to the infamous Royalist propaganda to the effect that a gigantic human skin tannery at Meudon filled all the requisitions for the leather goods needed by the revolutionary army quartermasters. Likewise, most of us who have made the *grand tour* or read guide books on Paris are familiar with the Carnavalet Museum's copy of the French Constitution of 1793 which is contained in a piece of human skin dyed a light green.

At all events, we find in early nineteenth century England a remarkable tendency on the part of the courts to include in the sentences of condemned criminals a provision that their bodies be delivered to local surgeons for dissection, and on several occasions the hides of these scoundrels were immortalized. Possibly this type of sentence was intended as an antidote for the notorious practice of "Burking," so-called from the profession of William Burke, who earned his bread by murdering the good citizens of Edinburgh and selling the cadavers to a local physician for dissection. When Burke himself was finally apprehended and executed in 1829, a portion of his skin was tanned. Part went to

⁶ Jacques Christophe Valmont de Bomare, *Dictionnaire raisonné universel d'histoire naturelle contenant l'histoire des animaux, des végétaux et des minéraux, et celle des corps célestes, des météores, & des autres principaux phénomènes de la nature; avec l'histoire des trois règnes et la détail des usages de leurs productions dans la médecine, dans l'économie domestique et champêtre, et dans les arts et métiers* (Lyon, Bruyset Frères, 1791; fifteen volumes; 4th revised edition), X, 204.

⁷ Possibly Pierre Sue (1739-1816), "le jeune," but there were at least three other famous Sues, all related to Pierre, in pre-Revolutionary French medical history. Another member of the Sue family, Eugène, is rumored to have bound his famous *Mystères de Paris* in the skin of a woman who loved him. See A.H.W. Fynmore, "Books Bound in Human Skin," *Notes and Queries*, CLXXXVII (Dec. 2, 1944), 259; Walter Hart Blumenthal, "Books Bound in Human Skin," *The American Book Collector*, II (1932), 123-4; and "Curl Up on a Good Book," *The Dolphin*, Fall, 1940, Pt. 1 (no. 4), p. 92.

⁸ Henry Stephens, "Human Skin Tanned, etc.," *Notes and Queries*, 2nd series, II (Sept. 27, 1856), 252.

make a wallet for the doorkeeper of the anatomical classroom in Edinburgh.⁹ A larger piece which was tanned and dyed a dark blue fell into the hands of the publisher of Burke's trial, who had it cut into small pieces and distributed to various friends. One portion of it was included in the remarkable collection of papers relative to Burke and Hare which was formed for Sir Walter Scott and retained in the library of the bard at Abbotsford after his death.¹⁰

The early issues of *Notes and Queries* are full of accounts of criminals whose integuments were removed subsequent to dissection and delivered to the tanner. The earliest known instance of a criminal whose body was ordered by the court to be dissected is found in the sentence of one James Johnson, condemned to the gallows on March 19, 1818, by Mr. Justice Dallas of the Norfolk Assizes, who also ordered that the culprit's body "be delivered to the surgeons to be anatomized." Following the execution, which took place on the Castle Hill, Norwich, in the presence of 5,000 spectators, the dissection was performed by Mr. Wilson, "a gentleman from London," and Mr. Austen, "a pupil of Mr. Dalrymple's," who prepared the body for a series of daily lectures delivered by a Mr. Crosse.¹¹

Another early case on record is that of a youth of eighteen named John Horwood, who was hanged on April 13, 1821, at Bristol New Drop for the aggravated murder of Eliza Balsum. Richard Smith, senior surgeon of the Bristol Infirmary, was given authority by the court to dissect the body; and after a course of lectures *ad populum* on respiration and circulation which he based on the corpse, he flayed the body and tanned the skin. The skeleton he preserved in a cabinet of curiosities, principally relics of executed criminals; and near this museum piece he placed a bound collection of Horwoodiana with a label on the back (some 6" x 3") of tanned human cuticle. It resembles light russia, has tooled borderlines in gold with a skull and crossbones stamped in each corner, and a gilt inscription in blackletter: "Cutis Vera Johannis Horwood."¹² The book is still in the Bristol Royal Infirmary.¹³

About five or six years after the execution of John Horwood, William Waite went to the gallows at Worcester for the murder of his wife's daughter (by a former husband), a little girl named Sarah Chance, by throwing her into an exhausted coalpit. Dissection was a part of his

⁹ "G.," "Human Skin Tanned," *Notes and Queries*, 3rd series, VIII (Dec. 2, 1865), 463.

¹⁰ "T. G. S.," "Human Skin Tanned, etc.," 2nd series, II (Sept. 27, 1856), 252.

¹¹ Information supplied by Mr. George Hayward, city librarian of the Norwich Public Libraries, from Charles Mackie's *Norfolk Annals*, 1, 151.

¹² "F. S." of Churchdown, "Human Skin Tanned, etc.," *Notes and Queries*, 2nd series, II (Sept. 27, 1856), 250-1.

¹³ C. Roy Hudleston, "Books Bound in Human Skin," *Notes and Queries*, CLXXXVII (Nov. 18, 1944), 241.

sentence, and after dissection his entire skin was flayed by a Stourbridge surgeon named Downing. It was not tanned but rather preserved in a sumach preparation.¹⁴

One of the most celebrated dissections which resulted in ultimate tanning of the hide was that of ratcatcher George Cudmore, executed in the Devon County Jail in 1830 for the murder of his wife, Grace, with the assistance of a woman named Sarah Dunn. The Dunn woman, incidentally, was forced to witness the execution of her accomplice, and she is said to have fallen into hysterics and fainted when the drop fell. Cudmore was dissected at the Devon and Exeter Hospital. Subsequently his tanned skin fell into the hands of W. Clifford, a bookseller of Exeter, who used it for binding a copy of Teggs's 1852 edition of Milton. This book was at one time in the library of Ralph Sanders of Exeter, but it is now in the Albert Memorial Library of that city. The skin is dressed white and looks something like pigskin in grain and texture.¹⁵

Towards the middle of the nineteenth century English physicians developed a somewhat more objective interest in human skin. Especially adept in the art of recognizing the true provenance of human leather was one John Quekett, assistant curator of the museum of the Royal College of Surgeons. Quekett was approached by Sir Benjamin Brodie,¹⁶ Albert Way,¹⁷ and others with specimens of human skin, in some instances nearly a thousand years old, and requested to give an identification of the nature of the cuticles. Through a now familiar technique of microscopic examination of vestigial remnants of hairs still clinging to the skin, Quekett identified three pieces for Way as the skin of fair haired persons—sacrilegious Danes who had pillaged the churches in Worcester, Hadstock, and Copford many years before the Conquest.¹⁸ The naturalist Frank Buckland repeated a story probably told by his father, who was dean of Westminster, that a piece of hard, dry human skin had been found beneath the bossed head of a huge iron nail on the door of the Abbey's Chapter House. Quekett again identified this specimen as human and pointed out that it probably came from a fair haired person.¹⁹

¹⁴ F. A. Carrington, "Human Skin Tanned, etc.," *Notes and Queries*, 2nd series, II (Oct. 11, 1856), 299. Carrington was one of the counsel on the trial.

¹⁵ Alfred Wallis, "Book Bound in Human Skin," *Notes and Queries*, 7th series, VIII (March 30, 1889), 246; H. Tapley-Soper (librarian of the Exeter City Library), "Books Bound in Human Skin," *Notes and Queries*, CLI (July 24, 1926), 68-9, and CLXXXVII (Dec. 30, 1944), 306; Fynmore, *loc. cit.*; Blumenthal, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

¹⁶ John Pavin Philips, "Human Skin Tanned, etc.," *Notes and Queries*, 2nd series, II (Sept. 27, 1856), 251-2.

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*

¹⁸ Deposited in the Anatomical Museum of the College of Surgeons in Lincoln's Inn Fields; see Bell, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

Another British physician who displayed an interest in human skin about the middle of the last century was one James Wise. In 1919 the Newberry Library of Chicago received as a part of the bequest of Mr. John M. Wing a volume with the following note on the front fly leaf: "Found in the Palace of the King of Delhi September 21, 1857 eleven days after the assault. James Wise, M.D. Bound in human skin." Authorities at the Newberry Library advise that examination of the pore structure by a Chicago anatomist has confirmed the second statement. The leather is smooth and thin and has been dyed a maroon color. The covers have gold stamped corner and center pieces of oriental floral design. A letter to Wise attached to one of the back fly leaves identifies the text of the manuscript as "a narrative of events connected with the history of the Dekkan, comprising biographies, deeds, genealogies, etc. of sundry notables by a Nawab Wuzeer of Hyderabad." It was copied by Mir Báki 'Ali who completed it in the year of the Hegira 1226 (*i.e.*, 1848 A.D.).²⁰

Toward the latter part of the nineteenth century several prominent American physicians began to show a pronounced interest in anthropodermic biblioegy. At least three such volumes are in the library of the Philadelphia College of Physicians. The earliest such volume is Joseph Leidy's own copy of his *Elementary Treatise on Human Anatomy* (Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1861), with the inscription: "The leather with which this book is bound is human skin, from a soldier who died during the great Southern rebellion."

Somewhat better known are the two volumes now owned by the College of Physicians which came from the library of Dr. John Stockton-Hough, who died in 1900 in Ewingville near Trenton, N.J. Stockton-Hough flayed some patients he lost at the Philadelphia General Hospital, formerly known simply as the Philadelphia Hospital (Blockley), and he is said to have bound more than six books in the leather obtained thereby.²¹ However, only two can be located, both in the College of Physicians' Library:

[Couper, Robert]

Speculations on the mode and appearances of impregnation in the human female; with an examination of the present theories of generation. By a physician.

149 pages. 8°. Edinburgh, Elliott, 1789.

²⁰ I am indebted to Mr. Ernst F. Detterer, custodian of the Wing Foundation of the Newberry Library, for the description of this volume.

²¹ "Curl Up on a Good Book," *loc. cit.*; G.A.E. Bogeng, "Kuriosa. I," *Archiv für Buchbinderei*, IX (1909), 90; Paul McPharlin, "Curious Book Bindings," *Notes and Queries*, CLIII (1927), 6. I am indebted to Mr. Elliott H. Morse, Reference Librarian of the University of Pennsylvania, and to Dr. W. Brook McDaniel, 2d, librarian of the College of Physicians, for accurate information concerning the anthropodermic volumes of Leidy and Stockton-Hough.

Drelincurtius, Carolus

De conceptione adversaria. Disce, homo, de tenui constructus pulvere, que te edidit in lucem conditione Deus. Ed. altera.

[8], 74 pages. 24°. Lugd. Batv., Boutesteyn, 1686.

On the basis of his extensive experience Stockton-Hough reported skin from the human back to be coarse-grained; but he also said that skin from a woman's thigh could be almost indistinguishable from pigskin.

Anthropodermic volumes from the library of Dr. Matthew Wood of Philadelphia have not been located as yet. The most spectacular volume in this collection was a tome bound in the skin of one Ernst Kauffmann, a young German who was studying law in 1813. Kauffmann despaired of fame and fortune as a writer, but in order to be remembered to posterity, he made a collection of some two hundred woodcuts which he entitled *Zwei Hundert berühmte Männer* and had it bound in his own skin after his death.²² Other books from Wood's library bound in Kauffmann's skin were Lesage's *Histoire de Gil Blas*, two volumes of *A Book About Doctors*, and three volumes of *Épisodes de la vie des insectes*.

An unidentified medical student in Massachusetts precipitated one of the most bitter political scandals ever known by that commonwealth when he had a friend take a small quantity of human skin to tanner William Mueller of North Cambridge, Mass. Somehow or another, Governor Benjamin Butler got hold of this leather and alleged that it was the skin of inmates of the Tewksbury State Almshouse sold by administrative officers of that institution. The Almshouse was subjected to an extensive investigation, a law was proposed to make the tanning of human skin a criminal violation, and there was a flood of newspaper articles and pamphlets on the subject. The Surgeon General's Library in Washington has a broadsheet by William Mueller explaining his position and condemning Governor Butler.

France as well as England and America has produced a number of experts on human leather. The Goncourt brothers gossiped about some interns in the Clamart who had been dismissed because they had delivered the skin of the breasts of deceased female patients to a binder of obscene books in the Faubourg Saint-Germain.²³ The publisher of obscene books, Isidore Liseux, claimed to have seen the one volume octavo edition (1793) of *Justine et Juliette* by the Marquis de Sade bound in female breasts.

²² Cim, *op. cit.*, pp. 295 and 300; Paul Kersten, "Bucheinbaende in Menschenleder," *Die Heftlade; Zeitschrift für die Förderer des Jakob Krause-Bundes*, I (1922-24), 55.

²³ Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, *Mémoires de la vie littéraire* (Paris 1888), III, 49, entry under date of April 17, 1866; "Les reliures en peau humaine," *La chronique médicale*, V (1898), 133; Cim, *op. cit.*, p. 297; G. E. B. Saintsbury, *A History of the French Novel (to the Close of the 19th Century)* (London, Macmillan, 1917-19; two volumes), II, 461-2.

The French were not quite as enthusiastic about the dissection of deceased criminals as were the British. An anonymous letter to the editor of the *Mercure de France*²⁴ dated September 15, 1920, stated that the corpse of the famous nineteenth century criminal Pranzini was delivered to the Faculty of Medicine in Paris inasmuch as it was not claimed by his family. An official of the Sûreté wanted to make a cardcase of the skin, but when the news of his project came to the ears of the prefect, the latter official immediately ordered that any cutaneous relics of Pranzini be buried with the body. Another account advises that the official was Inspector Rossignol, who wanted to give cardcases to Messrs. Taylor and Goron, chief and number one man of the Sûreté, respectively, and that he had a 40 cm. square piece tanned by Destresse of Paris.²⁵ Campi, the notorious French criminal whose true name was never revealed by the police, was to be flayed after execution and the tanned hide to be used to bind a volume containing the complete story of his life and exploits.²⁶ M. Flandinette, a technician at the École d'Anthropologie, tanned the right arm and side of this subject, but it is not known whether the leather was ever put to any bibliopagic application.

A Dr. Legrain of Villejuif made a rather interesting confession to the editor of the *Mercure de France*²⁷ in a letter dated August 3, 1920, concerning his experience with anthropodermic binding. He stated that as a medical student some forty years previously he had despoiled a corpse of its cutis and delivered it to a custom tanner. Six months later it was turned back over to him, shrunk to half its original size and increased in thickness by a full centimeter. Without revealing his secret, Legrain submitted the skin to a friend who was well versed in such matters. The latter stated positively that it was pigskin, although he did express some suspicion of its human origin. Due to its excessive thickness, the skin had to be split before it could be put to any practical use. Legrain used the leather to bind a copy of the Théophile Gautier's *Comédie de la mort* which he presented to the friend whom he had so cruelly deceived.

About the same time a bookbinder reported that he had bound several volumes in human skin for an otherwise unidentified Dr. V.²⁸ Among other volumes he bound for him was an edition of Mercier de Compiègne's *L'éloge des seins* in the tanned skin from female breasts, and in the middle of the front cover appeared the unmistakable form of a human female's nipple. Incidentally, the customer of this binder was especially fond of tattooed human skins. He managed to get hold of a

²⁴ CXLII (1920), 831.

²⁵ Kersten, *loc. cit.*, and A. M. Villon, *Practical Treatise on the Leather Industry* (London, Scott, Greenwood & Co., 1901), p. 28.

²⁶ "Les reliures en peau humaine," *loc. cit.*, p. 137 ; Kersten, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

²⁷ CXLI (1920), 831.

²⁸ "Einbaende aus Menschenhaut," *loc. cit.*

human skin on which were tattooed two knights from the age of Louis XIII in single combat, and he ordered a copy of *The Three Musketeers* bound in it.²⁹

A Dr. Cabanès, probably the editor of *La chronique médicale*, figured in one of the most widely discussed of all recent tales about anthropodermic bindings. The central characters are Camille Flammarion, French popularizer of astronomical research, and an unidentified woman, ordinarily described as a young countess. According to the most widely accepted version, the young woman suffered an early death from tuberculosis, and in order to express adequately her unrequited love for Flammarion, she had him sent a strip of skin from her shoulders (passionately admired by Flammarion, according to another tale) with the request that he use it to bind the first book published by him after her death. True to her wishes, Flammarion bound his *Terres du ciel* in the skin, probably hand tooled *au fer froid, style monastique*. As late as 1925 the book was still in the library at Juvisy.

Dr. Cabanès, curious about the true facts of this incident so badly distorted by the sensational press, wrote Flammarion and got the following answer:³⁰

My dear Doctor:

The story has been somewhat expanded. I don't know the name of the person whose dorsal skin was delivered to me by a physician to use for binding. It was a matter of carrying out a pious vow. Some newspapers, especially in America, published the portrait, the name, and even the photograph of the chateau where "the countess" lived. All of that is pure invention.

The binding was successfully executed by Engel, and from then on the skin was inalterable. I remember I had to carry this relic to a tanner in the Rue de la Reine-Blanche, and three months were necessary for the job. Such an idea is assuredly bizarre. However, in point of fact, this fragment of a beautiful body is all that survives of it today, and it can endure for centuries in a perfect state of respectful preservation.

The desire of the unknown woman was to have my last book published at the time of her death bound in this skin: the octavo edition of the *Terres du ciel* published by Didier enjoys this honor.

Your reader and admirer,

Flammarion

A binder who was actively engaged in anthropodermic bibliopegy on the other side of the Rhine prior to the first World War was Paul

²⁹ A similar penchant for tanned skin with tattoos was revealed in a short article by R. W. Hackwood, "Human Skin Tanned," *Notes and Queries*, 3rd series, X (Oct. 27, 1866), 341.

³⁰ E. Leclerc, "Reliures en peau humaine," *Papyrus*, VIII (1927), 742; a picture of this binding was printed by Blumenthal, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

Kersten.³¹ On of the most famous of his numerous anthropodermic bindings is a volume of anatomical papers by L'Admiral, fully equipped with doublures of "graveyard" mole and a panel stamp showing a skull and the silhouette head (of the *original* owner of the binding?). Once in the private library of Hans Friedenthal, it is now one of the most unusual pieces in the collection of the Lane Medical Library of Stanford University.

Some attention has already been devoted to the combination of erotomania and bibliomania in the field of anthropodermic bibliopeggy. Some perverted minds have let their imaginations run riot on the subject. The *Mercure de France* reported in September, 1920, that it was fortunate that Goron of the Paris police needed a cardcase instead of a tobacco pouch, for otherwise a different portion of Pranzini's corpse might have been defiled. Nevertheless, it is reliably known that a certain famous American burlesque queen actually does carry a coin purse made of a male scrotum. But the ultimate in the imagination of the erotomaniacs was attained when Otto F. Babler³² smirked over a possible appropriate binding for the medieval tract *De serto virginum*.

The breast fetishists such as Dr. V. and the clients of the Clamart interns have been especially active in the pursuit of their hobby. That paragon of pornographers, Iwan Bloch, gleefully reported the use of the female breast as the covering for books.³³ Some bibliomaniacs have books bound with women's breasts so that the nipples form characteristic protuberances on the outer part of the back and front covers.³⁴

Even the most famous anthropodermic tale of the middle ages has been given an erotic turn. According to Robert Burton, the famous Hussite general John Zisca "would have a drum made out of his skin when he was dead, because he thought the very noise of it would put his enemies to flight, I doubt not but these following lines, when they shall be recited, or hereafter read, will drive away melancholy (though I be gone) as much as Zisca's drum could terrify his foes."³⁵ G.-J. Witkowski's grossly vulgar *Tétoniana: anecdotes historiques et religieuses sur les seins et l'allaitement, comprenant l'histoire du décolletage*

³¹ In addition to his article in *Die Heftlade*, see also his "Bucheinbaende in Menschenhaut," *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde*, II (Teil 2, 1910-11), 263-4, and G. A. E. Bogeng in the *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde*, Neue Folge, V (Teil 1, Beiblatt, 1913-14), 79-80.

³² "Anekdoten über Bücher und deren Liebhaber," *Die Bücherstube*, V (1926-27), 228.

³³ Bogeng, "Kuriosa. I.," *loc. cit.*

³⁴ Jackson, *op. cit.*, p. 509.

³⁵ *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, edited by Floyd Dell and Paul Jordan-Smith (New York, Farrar & Rinehart, c. 1927), p. 30. Blumenthal, *op. cit.*, claims that it was a "Janizary drum" now in the Bavarian Armee-Museum.

*et du corser*³⁶ claims that the skin of Zisca's breast was used to make this drum. An alleged picture of the instrument drawn to such specifications is reproduced. However, for all the notoriety attained by Zisca's drum, it seems more than likely that the whole story is an enormous propagandistic fabrication of the Counter-Reformation.

As the result of investigations in German concentration camps by Allied officers, it has been fairly well established that the Nazis were also attached to human skin not belonging to themselves. Sir Bernard Spilsbury, the British pathologist, identified as human leather pieces of hide obtained by the eight M.P.s and the two peers who inspected Buchenwald.³⁷ One of these pieces clearly had formed part of a lampshade at one time; and it was said that Frau Koch, wife of the German commanding officer, collected other articles made of human skin. Kenneth L. Dixon, an Associated Press staff writer, reported that one Karl Voelkner, another Buchenwald official, confessed to American CIC agents that lampshades had been made of human skin at that infamous institution.³⁸

The literature of anthropodermic biblopeggy is far more extensive than the few notes of medical interest in the present article. Such refinements of the subject as autoanthropodermic bindings such as Kauffmann's work or the legal aspects of flaying as punishment belong to another story.

³⁶ Paris, A. Maloine, 1898; p. 56.

³⁷ *The Daily Mail*, April 28, 1945.

³⁸ *Puerto Rico World-Journal*, May 27, 1945.